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BERNHARD VON BREYDENBACH'S *PEREGRINATIO IN TERRAM SANCTAM* AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE HISTORY OF ARMENIAN PRINTING

Among the numerous early accounts of pilgrimages to the Holy Land, the narrative of Bernhard Von Breydenbach, Dean of Mainz, entitled *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* stands preeminent as the first to be printed with illustrations. The seven foldouts of panoramic views are the first authentic representations of the famous places seen en route, that is, Venice, Parenzo, Corfu, Modon, Crete, Rhodes, and Jerusalem, the ports usually visited by every pilgrim of the period when journeying from Venice to the Holy Land. This is the first instance in which a single painter is certainly known to have undertaken the illustration of a printed book. The name of the artist is recorded more than once in the text. He was Erhard Reuwich, a "skilfull painter" of Utrecht, who accompanied the Dean for the purpose of graphically recording the impressions of the voyage.[1]

The Dean, son of Gerlach von Breidenbach, was the canon of Mainz cathedral in 1450, and became its dean in 1484. On April 25, 1483, the Dean and his two companions commenced their travels from Oppenheim, a few miles south of Mainz, and arrived at Venice after fifteen days travel where they met other pilgrims going on the same journey. They stayed with Peter Ugelheymer of Frankfurt. Breydenbach notes that it required much astuteness to bargain with Augustino Contarini, the master of the ship, and in his account gives a specimen of the form of contract for use as future guidance. From April 1483 to the end of January 1484 he was occupied by the pilgrimage to the Holy Land and wrote his account of the journey with the help of Dominican Martin Roth, which is the subject of the book. The Dean died on May 5, 1497, and was buried in the chapel of Our Lady in the cathedral of Mainz, where his monument is still to be seen.

Between 1486 and 1522 there were twelve editions of the *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam,* all with woodcuts, which are listed in the synopsis on the next page.

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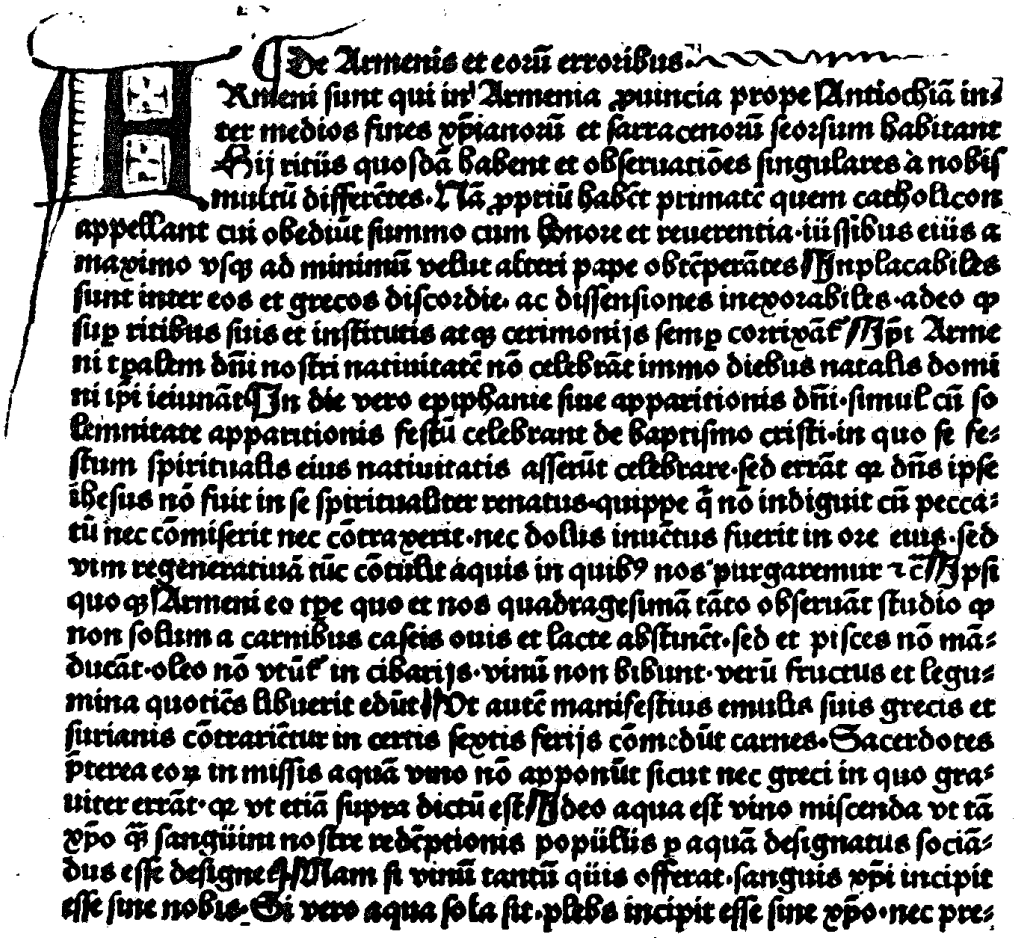

De Armenis et eorū erroribus.

Armeni ſunt qui in Armenia ꝓuincia prope Antiochiā inter medios fines ꝯpianorū et ſarracenorū ſeorſum habitant. Hij ritūs quoſdā habent et obſeruatiões ſingulares à nobiſ multū differētes. Nā ꝓpriū habēt primatē quem catholicon appellant cui obediūt ſummo cum honore et reuerentia. iiij ſſibus eiūs a maximo vſq; ad minimū velut alteri pape obtēperātes. Inplacabiles ſunt inter eos et grecos diſcordie. ac diſſenſiones inexorabiles. adeo q; ſuꝑ ritibus ſuis et inſtitutis atq; cerimoniſs ſemꝑ corriuāt. Ipſi Armeni tpaliter dñi noſtri natiuitatē nō celebrāt immo diebus natalis domini ipſi ieiunāt. In die vero epyphanie ſiue apparitionis dñi. ſimul cū ſolemnitate apparitionis feſtū celebrant de baptiſmo criſti. in quo ſe feſtum ſpiritualis eius natiuitatis aſſerūt celebrare. ſed errāt q; dñs ipſe ihēſus nō fuit in ſe ſpiritualiter renatus. quippe q̄ nō indiguit cū peccatū nec cōmiſerit nec cōtraxerit. nec dolus inuētus fuerit in ore eius. ſed vim regenerationā tūc cōtulit aquis in quib⁹ nos purgaremur. Ipſi. Ipſi quo q; Armeni eo tpe quo et nos quadrageſimā tāto obſeruāt ſtudio q; non ſolum a carnibus caſeis ouis et lacte abſtinēt. ſed et piſces nō māducāt. oleo nō vtūt in cibarijs. vinū non bibunt. verū fructus et legumina quotiēs libuerit ediūt. Ot autē manifeſtius emulās ſuis grecis et ſuꝛianis cōtrariētur in certis feꝛtis feꝛijs cōmedūt carnes. Sacerdotes ꝓterea eoꝝ in miſſis aquā vno nō apponūt ſicut nec greci in quo grauiter errāt. q; vt etiā ſupra dictū eſt. Deo aqua eſt vino miſcenda vt tā ꝯpo q̄ ſanguinis noſtre redēptionis popūlis p aquā deſignatus ſociādus eſſe deſignet. Nam ſi vinū tantū qūis offerat. ſanguis ꝯpi incipit eſſe ſine nobis. Si vero aqua ſola ſit. plebs incipit eſſe ſine ꝯpo. nec pre-

Fig. 1. Bernhard Von Breydenbach, [*Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*] Begin. [fol.2 recto, after a leaf bearing a woodcut on the verso]. [With woodcuts and woodcut folding views and a map, from drawings by E. Reuwich.] Erhardu Reuwich: In ciuitate Moguntina, die. xj Februarij, 1486. 148 leaves. Without signatures. Five leaves are extended by additional leaves for woodcuts. 42-44 lines to a page. The space for the Armenian alphabet left blank.

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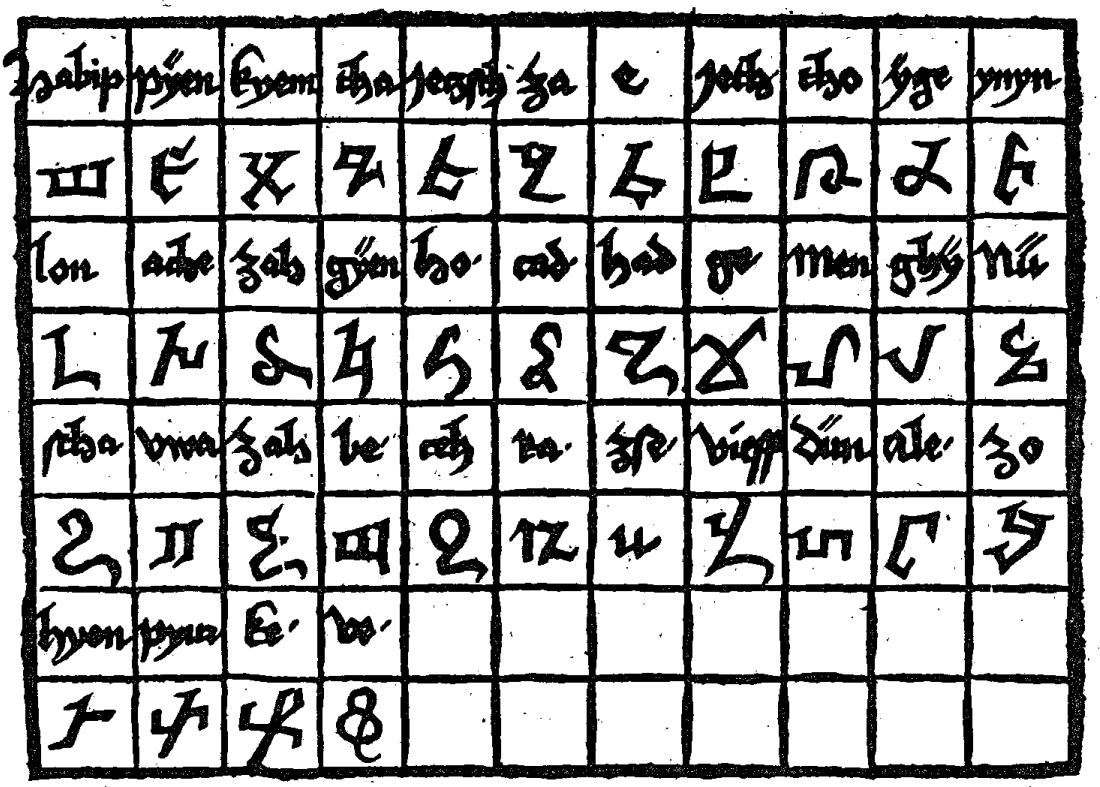


Fig. 2. Bernhard Von Breydenbach, [*Peregrinatio, in terram sanctam.*] Begin. [fol.2 recto, after a leaf bearing a woodcut on the verso:] Dem hochwirdigsten vatter yn cristo, vnd herren hern Bertholdo. . . Ich Bernhard vo Breydenbach. . . [With woodcuts and woodcut folding views and a map.] Durch Erhart Rewich: Meytz,yn dem xxi. tag dess Brachmonedts, 1486. 164 leaves, without signatures. Five leaves are extended by additional leaves for woodcuts. 41-43 lines to a page. Imperfect; wanting the map of Palestine. The Armenian alphabet is placed at the end of the text "von den Armenien. . .". Note the letter "o" is missing. *The British Library, IB. 355*

Language	*Year*	*Month*	*Place*	*Printer*	*Illustrations*	*Order of date*
Latin	1486	Feb. 11	Mainz	Reuwich	originals	1
"	1490	July 29	Speier	Drach	originals	7
"	1502	Nov. 24	"	"	copies	9
German	1486	June 21	Mainz	Reuwich	originals	2
"	1488	Apl. 22	Augsberg	Sorg	copies	3
"	[c. 1505]	—	[Speier]	[Drach]	copies	10
Flemish	1488	May 24	Mainz	Reuwich	originals	4
French (N. le Huen)	1488	Nov. 28	Lyons	Topie and Heremberg	copies	5
"	1517	Oct. 12	Paris	Higman for Regnault	copies	11
"	1522(-3)	Mar. 22	"	for Regnault	copies	12
French (J. de Hersin)	1489(-90)	Feb. 18	[Lyons]	[Ortuin]	originals	6
Spanish	1498	Jan. 16	Zaragosa	P. Hurus	originals	8

Bibliographical synopsis of the first twelve editions

The three editions were probably prepared under the supervision of Breydenbach, that is, the first Latin edition of 1486, the first German edition of 1486, and that of the Flemish of 1488, all have colophons which clearly state that they were printed at Mainz by Erhard Reuwich, although the types used apparently belonged to Peter Schöffer.[3] The 1488 edition printed by Anton Sorg is not a new edition but the 1486 edition the date of which was merely altered to 1488, in accordance with that of the colophon, but the version is the same as the original. In the Flemish version the date 1485 occurs, but it is probably that of the Latin original from which it was translated. Besides these editions there are several reprints of the text in various languages. The most remarkable feature of these twelve edi-

tions is the woodcut illustrations. They consist of panoramic views of the places visited, figures of strange animals, studies of the costumes of the various nationals, and various Eastern alphabets.

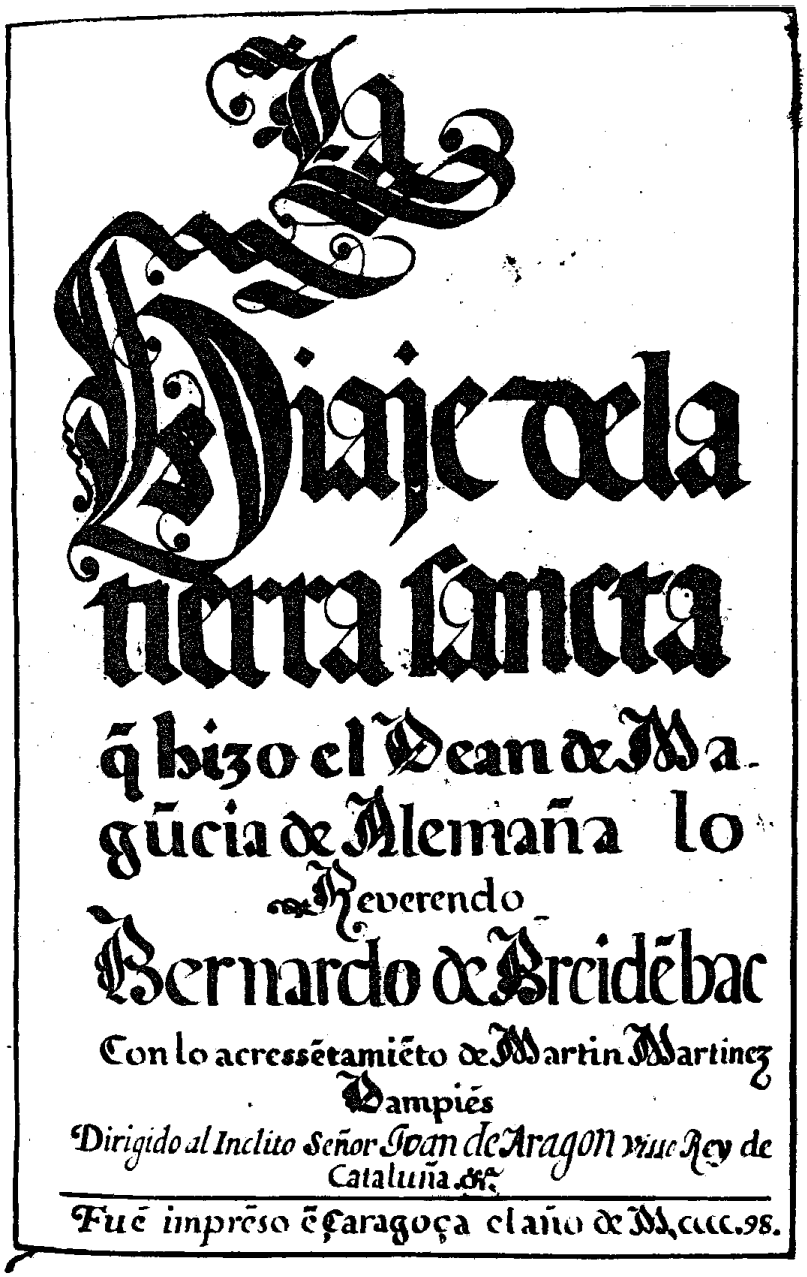
There were seventeen illustrations in all which can be conveniently divided into three categories. Figures 1-9 including the frontispiece consist of views of the following places: Venice, Parenzo, Corfu, Modon, Candia, Rhodes, Jerusalem, and the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Figures 10-15 are five oblong cuts of the figures representing different nationalities as mentioned in the voyage account: Saracens (veiled women), a Jew and his debtor, Greeks including a monk, Syrians, Abyssinians, including a priest. Figures 11-17 consist of examples of national alphabets, giving the native original characters and their transliterations, viz. Arabic, Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, and Ethiopic.

The original blocks of these cuts were used six times in successive editions, without any noticeable deterioration, their last appearance being in the Spanish edition of 1498. At Mainz they were used in 1486 (twice) and 1488, then after passing to Ortuin at Lyons in 1489, they are back in Germany in 1490 (Speier, Drach), and finally go to Hurus at Zaragoza in 1498. Hurus probably kept them, for when Drach published his two other editions in 1502 and 1505 he was forced to have copies made of cuts.

THE ARMENIAN ALPHABET

The first Latin edition appeared on February 11, 1486. It contains the cuts for only the following alphabets: Arabic, Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, Coptic, and Ethiopian. Blank spaces of similar size are provided for other alphabets, but they were never printed. These would be the alphabets for the Jacobite, Nestorian, Armenian, Georgian, and Maronite languages. The description of the Armenians ends with the following words: "est aut hec eo 4 littera q hic infra annotat," which indicates that this particular alphabet was intended to be represented, but it did not actually appear until four months later in the first German edition which was printed on June 21, 1486.

The first edition of the German version, printed four months after the first Latin edition (June 21, 1486) is by the same printer, with the same type and woodcuts. The figure studies and the alphabets appear as follows:[4]



La Viaje de la tierra sancta

q̃ hizo el Dean de Wagũcia de Alemaña lo Reverendo

Bernardo de Breidẽbac

Con lo acressẽtamiẽto de Martin Martinez Dampiẽs

Dirigido al Inclito Señor Joan de Aragon vnic Rey de Cataluña &c.

Fuẽ impr̃so ẽ Çaragoça el año de M.cccc.98.

Figure 3

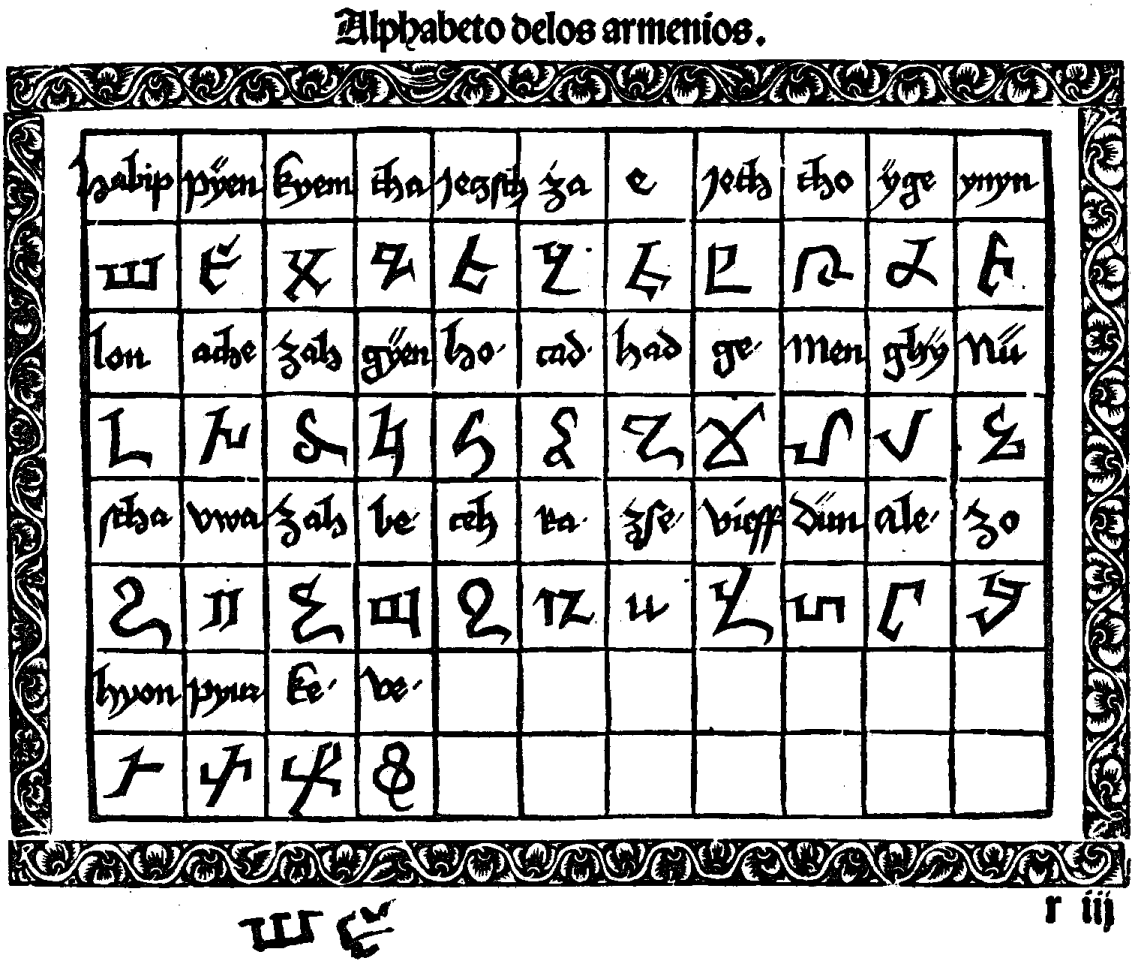


Figure 4

Figs. 3, 4. [Viaje dela tierra sancta.]. [fol.2 rect:] Comieca el prologo de martin Martinez dampies, enel translado del sancto viaje, si quier peregrinacion dela tierra sancta. [With woodcuts and woodcut folding views.] Paulo Hurus: Çaragoça, a. xvj.dias de Enero, 1498. 188 leaves, numbered ii-CLXXVIII.signed gatherings. Text printed in double columns. Armenian alphabet follows the text "Delos armenios y sus errores". Woodcut of the alphabet on leaf CXXV with the lettering "Alphabeto delos armenios". It is identical with the Meyntz woodcut, except that the decorative border is added on all the woodcuts. *The British Library, IB. 52154*

Figures	*Alphabets*	*Sigs.*	*Figures*	*Alphabets*	*Sigs.*
Saracens	Arabic	103	—	Syriac	108
Jews	—	103 *vo.*	—	Coptic	109
—	Hebrew	105	—	Armenian	111
Greeks	—	105 *vo.*	Abyssinians	—	112
—	Greek	107	—	Ethiopic	112 *vo.*
Syrians	—	107 *vo.*	Turks	Ethiopic	166

The Armenian alphabet which was planned for the first Latin edition but which was delayed appears here for the first time. As in the first Latin edition, blank spaces are left for pictures which were never forthcoming. In this instance they were the figures for the Jacobites, Nestorians, Armenians, Maronites, and Latins. Curiously, the Armenian alphabet does not appear in Reuwich's Flemish edition of 1488, nor in Ortuin's of 1489, nor in Drach's of 1490 (each of which contains the original woodcuts) but seems to go direct from Mainz (1486) to Zaragoza (1498). In the Armenian alphabet the letter *O* is omitted.

The Spanish edition, translated by Martin de Ampies, appeared in Zaragoza on January 16, 1498, printed by Paul Hurus. The figure studies and alphabets are from the original blocks, but now surrounded by narrow ornamental borderpieces of Spanish workmanship.

Figures	*Alphabets*	*Sigs.*	*Figures*	*Alphabets*	*Sigs.*
Saracens	Arabic	q6	—	Syriac	r1 *vo.*
Jews	—	q6 *vo.*	—	Coptic	r2
—	Hebrew	q7	—	Armenian	r3
Greeks	—	q7 *vo.*	Abyssinians	—	r4
—	Greek	q8 *vo.*	—	Ethiopic	r4 *vo.*
Syrians	—	r1	Turks	—	z1 *vo.*

This is the second edition to contain the Armenian alphabet.

The third German edition has no note of place, or date but is undoubtedly by Peter Drach of Speier (who was still working in 1517), as is demonstrated by the similarity of the woodcuts with those of the 1502 edition by the same printer. The probable date is 1505. The figure studies and alphabets appear in this edition as follows:

Figures	*Alphabets*	*Sigs.*	*Figures*	*Alphabets*	*Sigs.*
Saracens	—	I6 *vo.*	—	Coptic	K5 *vo*
Jews	Arabic	K1	—	Ethiopic	K6 *vo*, L1 *vo*
Greeks	Hebrew	K2 *vo.*	Abyssinians	—	L1
Syrians	Greek	K4	Turks	—	R6 *vo*
—	Syriac	K4 *vo.*			

The Ethiopic alphabet appears twice on folio K6 vo. and takes the place of the Armenian, which was never represented. Its absence in this edition is explained by Drach's set having been copied in 1502 from the first Latin edition of 1486 which did not contain the Armenian alphabet. On the one hand, in setting up the present edition from Reuwich's German edition (1486, which does not contain the Armenian alphabet), Drach probably did not consider it worthwhile to have the Armenian alphabet copied especially for this new edition. On the other hand, there is the possibility that the cut was copied for this present German edition, but that the Ethiopic alphabet was mistaken for the Armenian and as a consequence it appears twice. Other editions (except the Spanish) do not contain the Armenian alphabet, because they were reprinted or translated from the first Latin edition.

The Arabic, Armenian, Syriac, Coptic, and Ethiopic alphabets are the first specimens ever to be printed.

Each section on the various nationalities residing in the Holy Land starts with a short introduction which explains the customs of the respective peoples and which is followed by a woodcut of their alphabet. The section introducing the Armenian alphabet is headed "Of the Armenians and Their Errors." Below I give the first translation of this text made from the Latin and German editions.

Of the Armenians and Their Errors

The Armenians are the people who inhabit the province of Armenia near Antioch at the frontier between the Christian and Saracen territories where they are sometimes separated from all other people. They have ceremonies, rites, and observances which differ singularly from ours: for they have a primate whom they call Catholicos and whom they obey with extreme happiness and reverence, and the smallest and the greatest conform totally to his commandments, as we do to the Pope. Between them and the Greeks there are inexplicable contentions and

differences, so much so that constant fights take place around their ceremonies and institutions. These Armenians do not celebrate the feast of the Nativity of Our Lord but they fast. And they celebrate with great solemnity the feast of Apparition of Our Lord, the Baptism, which they say is the feast of the spiritual Nativity; they hold it in great respect but they are in error because Our Lord was not spiritually regenerated. The reason is that there was no necessity for it, for He had committed no sins nor contracted any, in word, or by fraud or malice, but He provided regenerating virtue to the water in which we are purged and so on. The Armenians likewise practice Lent at the same time as we but their abstinence is far greater than ours as they do not eat fish in their soup or drink wine. And in this way they are very different to the Greeks who, to the anger of their rivals, on some Fridays eat meat. The priests do not mix water in their wine and they are deeply in error. For the reason stated in the chapter on the Greeks: for when only wine is offered, there the blood of Christ is without us, and when only water is offered there is only us without the blood of Christ and the communion is not symbolised. Therefore we must never administer the Holy Sacrament if there is no water and wine, for from the body of Our Lord came out water and blood in the passion. Likewise the Holy Mass service of the Armenians with respect to the use of the chalice and the paten is very much in accordance with ours. But after the consecration they place the Body of Christ on the paten and show it to the congregation, and then place it on the chalice as we do. In the past, the Armenians did yield obedience to the Roman Church, when their king paid homage to the Roman Emperor Henry and received the crown and ordination from the archbishop of Magonce. However they did not want to renounce their ancient rites and practices and so their obedience was incomplete and came to nothing.

Finally, these Armenians are in sufficient number in Jerusalem to have their Bishop. He commonly has two locks of hair on his head which reach down to his temples, and he and all his clergymen wear round large crowns. Their beards and hair are all worn in the same fashion. Compared with all other nations, Armenian priests have the most honourable conduct and the most sober and measured disposition. They wear simple, plain clothes. They show great reverence and devotion to the sacraments of the Latins. The Armenians have a large and impressive Church of St. James which is situated in the place where the Apostle was beheaded and martyred. They also have the Church of the Holy Saviour in the house of Caiaphas on the Mount of Sion where Jesus was questioned, stoned, beaten with wood and stones, and wounded. In this church is the large stone

from the door of the tomb of Our Lord which the angel rolled aside and on which He sat. And it is also the place where Peter denied His Lord and the cock crowed.

All Armenian laymen have their head shaved in the shape of a cross, for the reason, it is said, that in the year of the Lord 744, the Syrians attacked them so fiercely that they did not know how to defend themselves. They were told to shave their heads in the form of the cross. This done, they suddenly were victorious with the help of God. That is why they always carry the cross. The Armenians have a language of their own which has as much in common with ours as the Divine Liturgy which they practice.

Another fifteenth-century travel book that could prove relevant to the study of Breydenbach's account of the Armenians is Johann Schiltberger's *Hie vahet an der Schildberger der vil wunders erfaren hatt in der heydenschafft und in türkey* first printed in 1473 by Gunther Zainer in Ulm. Judging by the numerous editions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (1475, 1494, 1513, 1549), each issue being an almost exact transcript of the copy that preceded it, Schiltberger must have been a popular author of the period. The English translation is entitled *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger, a Native of Bavaria, in Europe, Asia, and Africa, 1396-1427.* Translated from the Heidelberg MS, edited in 1859 by Professor Karl Friedrich Neumann, by J. Buchan Telfer, with notes by Prof. P. Bruun (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1879). In this edition the following chapters are devoted to Armenia:

Chapter 13. Wayasit (Bayazed) conquers Lesser Armenia
Chapter 62. Of Armenia
Chapter 63. Of the religion of the Armenians
Chapter 64. Of a Saint Gregory
Chapter 65. Of a dragon and a unicorn
Chapter 66. Why the Greeks and Armenians are enemies.

The book ends with the text of the Lord's Prayer in Armenian in Latin transliteration.

Schiltberger's first acquaintance with Armenia and Georgia was upon the occasion of Timur's invasion of these countries. Chapter 62 begins with the statement: "I have also been a great deal in Armenia. After Tamerlin died, I came to see his son, who has two kingdoms in Armenia. . . . I always lived with the Armenians, because they were very friendly to the Germans, and because I was a German they treated me very kindly; and they also taught me their Pater Noster and their language. . . ." (pp. 86-87). The Russian translation of this work by Prof. Bruun appeared in Odessa in 1866.

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NOTES

1. Ferdinand Geldner, *Die Deutschen Inkunabledrucker: Ein Handbuch der Deutschen Buckdrucker des XV Jahrhunderts nach Druckorten.* Band 1-2 (Stuttgart, 1968).

2. Hugh Wm. Davies, *Bernhard von Breydenbach and His Journey to the Holy Land, 1483-1484: A Bibliography* (London, 1911).

3. D. B. Updike, *Printing Types: Their History, Forms, and Use: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 58-59.

4. Robert Proctor, *An Index of the Early Printed Books in the British Museum from the Invention of Printing to the Year 1500* (London, 1888); *Catalogue of Books Printed in the 15th Century now in the British Museum.* Part 1. *Xylographica and Books Printed in Types at Mainz, Strassburg, Hamburg and Cologne* (London, 1908); Hugh Wm. Davies, *Catalogue of a Collection of Early German Books in the Library of C. Fairfax Murray.* Vol. 1 (London, 1913), pp. 168-184; Clair Collin, *A History of European Printing* (Holland, 1976), and *A Chronology of Printing* (London, 1969); Abgaryan Gevorg, *Hayoc' tpagir aybubenê 500 tarekan ē* [The printed Armenian alphabet is 500 years old] in *Hayrenik'i Dzayn,* January 22, 1986.